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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1999), pp. 1-17

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/545715>

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# THE SEAL OF ARIYĀRAMNA IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, TORONTO\*

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## I. INTRODUCTION

THE collections of the West Asian Department of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto house an interesting cylinder seal (see figs. 1–2) which carries an Aramaic inscription naming the owner as one Ariyāramna. An analysis of the composition, iconography, and style of the seal of Ariyāramna suggests that it dates to the late sixth–early fifth centuries B.C. and that it originates from southwestern Iran.<sup>1</sup> The seal is closely related to many of the sealings occurring on administrative documents from Persepolis known as the Persepolis Fortification tablets.<sup>2</sup> The sealings from the Fortification archive stand as the

\* Mark Garrison would like to thank T. Cuyler Young, Jr., who suggested that he publish the seal of Ariyāramna. Permission to publish the seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification archive comes from the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. Garrison wishes to express special thanks to Matthew W. Stolper and Charles Jones of the Oriental Institute for their continued support of the Persepolis sealing project. Readings of the seal inscriptions from Persepolis are kindly provided by Charles Jones. All drawings have been made by Garrison. Many thanks to Laura Mosman, who has inked the drawings. Paul Dion has written the epigraphical comments (pp. 16–17 below). Garrison accepts responsibility for all other opinions expressed in this paper. The following abbreviations are used:

PF = Persepolis Fortification text published by R. T. Hallock, *The Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 92 (Chicago, 1969).

PFS = seal preserved as impression(s) on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. I often refer to the reconstructed designs as seals, although, in fact, they survive only as sealings. “\*” following a PFS number indicates an inscribed seal; “s” indicates a stamp seal.

PT = Persepolis Treasury text published by G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 65 (Chicago, 1948).

PTS = seal preserved as impression(s) on the Persepolis Treasury tablets (published by E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 69 [Chicago, 1957], pp. 4–41, pls. 1–14). “\*” following a PTS number indicates an inscribed seal; “s” indicates a stamp seal.

<sup>1</sup> Diagnostic features of the seal inscription (see below, pp. 16–17) also point to a date in the late sixth–early fifth centuries B.C. The provenance of the seal is unknown. Its accession number in the Royal Ontario Museum is 991.248.1. The seal was first brought to the West Asian Department for identification in 1971 and then donated to the museum in 1991. Museum files from 1971 indicate that the seal may have been found in northern Iraq.

<sup>2</sup> The publication of the first of the three volumes of the sealings from the Persepolis Fortification archive will soon appear (Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, with seal inscription readings by Charles Jones, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, vol. 1, *Images of Heroic Encounter*, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 117 (Chicago, 1999). These three volumes will document the seal images used on the 2,087 tablets whose texts were published by Hallock in 1969. The first volume contains 313 seal images. In total, there occur on the 2,087 tablets published by Hallock over 1,000 distinct (and legible) seal images. Date formulas occurring in the texts date the Persepolis Fortification archive to the period 509–494 B.C. (i.e., the thirteenth through the twenty-eighth year of Darius I). Some sealings from the Persepolis archive have already appeared in print; see, for example, my articles “Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art,” *Ars Orientalis*

[JNES 58 no. 1 (1999)]

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0022-2968/99/5801-0001\$2.00.

primary source for revealing what is a vibrant and innovative period in glyptic in south-western Iran in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the seal impressions preserved on the Persepolis Fortification and the Persepolis Treasury tablets, dated and contextualized seals and sealings are rare from the time of Cyrus II (ca. 559–529 B.C.) to Darius I (522–486 B.C.), and their stylistic and iconographic repertoires are limited.<sup>4</sup> The range of iconography, style, and composition preserved in the sealings from the Fortification archive is, however, truly remarkable. While the seal of Ariyāramna matches

21 (1991): 1–29; “The Identification of Artists and Workshops in Sealed Archival Contexts: The Evidence from Persepolis,” in M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique: Archivi e sigilli nel mondo ellenistico*, Torino, Villa Gualino 13–16 gennaio 1993, BCH Suppl. 29 (Athens, 1996), pp. 29–51; “A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078),” *JNES* 55 (1996): 1–21; Margaret Cool Root, “Evidence from Persepolis for the Dating of Persian and Archaic Greek Coinage,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 148 (1988): 1–12; Root, “From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire,” in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, Achaemenid History, vol. 6 (Leiden, 1991), pp. 1–29, and “The Persepolis Fortification Tablets: Archival Issues and the Problem of Stamps Versus Cylinder Seals,” in Boussac and Invernizzi, eds., *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, pp. 3–27. References to earlier publications of the Persepolis sealings can be found in these sources. Many scholars have been actively working on the Persepolis tablets from various historical and social perspectives. For a brief overview of the literature, see Garrison and Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1–2087*, Achaemenid History, vol. 9 (Leiden, 1996); D. Lewis, “The Persepolis Fortification Texts,” in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds., *Centre and Periphery*, Achaemenid History, vol. 4 (Leiden, 1990), pp. 1–6; H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden* (Wiesbaden, 1990) remains the most ambitious study of the Persepolitan administrative system.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview, see my “Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> I know of only one securely dated seal from the time of Darius, the famous trilingual seal of Darius, commonly known as the London Darius cylinder (see, for example, D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* [Chicago, 1987], fig. 558); its provenance is problematic. Seal impressions on dated tablets are better represented; R. Zettler, “On the Chronological Range of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Seals,” *JNES* 38 (1979): 257–70, has collected sixteen tablets preserving twenty different seals

from the time of Cyrus and Cambyses and fourteen tablets preserving twenty-four different seals from the time of Darius I (not including the seals from the Fortification archive). All twenty seals from the time of Cyrus and Cambyses collected by Zettler depict a human figure (in profile) before altar(s) and/or divine emblem(s), commonly called the Neo-Babylonian worship scene. J. MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period* (Poznan, 1995), p. 164, n. 1, adds substantially to Zettler’s list. Among the sealings from Sippar itself published by MacGinnis, eight occur on tablets dated to the reign of Cyrus. Five show the Neo-Babylonian worship scene (sealings A.5–A.7, A.18, B.2); one shows a heroic encounter (C.3); one shows an archer (E.1); and one preserves only the head of a composite bird-headed creature (G.2). Two sealings from Sippar occur on tablets dated to the reign of Cambyses; both show the Neo-Babylonian worship scene (A.19 and B.3). Thirty-six of the Sippar sealings occur on tablets dated to the time of Darius I. Of these, twenty-two preserve some version of the Neo-Babylonian worship scene (A.8–A.15, A.20–A.23, A.26, B.4–B.12); four preserve heroic encounters (C.4–C.7); one preserves two atlas figures holding up a winged disk (D.1); one preserves an archer (E.2); six preserve fragmentary animals or monsters (F.1–F.3, F.5, G.3, G.4); and two preserve fragmentary winged devices (G.6 and G.9). To Zettler’s total for Darius I (in addition to the seals from the Fortification archive) should be added eight seals preserved as impressions on the Persepolis Treasury tablets, the most important sealed archive outside of the Fortification tablets for the time of Darius I (Treasury texts published in Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*; seal impressions published in Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pp. 4–41, pls. 1–14). The Treasury tablets date from 492 to 458 B.C. and preserve impressions from forty-three cylinder seals and thirty-four stamp seals. Of these, only eight seals, all cylinders, can be securely dated to the time of Darius. Four of the seals name Darius in their inscriptions: PTS 1\*, PTS 2\*, PTS 3\*, and PTS 4\* (the inscription on PTS 4\* is not preserved on any impression from the Treasury tablets; however, the seal also occurs on the Fortification tablets as PFS 113\*, where the inscription is preserved). Three other seals also occur on both the Fortification and the Treasury tablets and so can be dated with certainty to the time of Darius: PFS 71\* = PTS 33\*; PFS 451s = PTS 61s; PFS 1084 = PTS 42. Finally, PTS 24\* occurs on a Treasury tablet dated to year 32 of Darius.



FIG. 1a.—Photograph of the seal of Ariyāramna. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



FIG. 1b.—Photograph of a modern impression of the seal of Ariyāramna. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

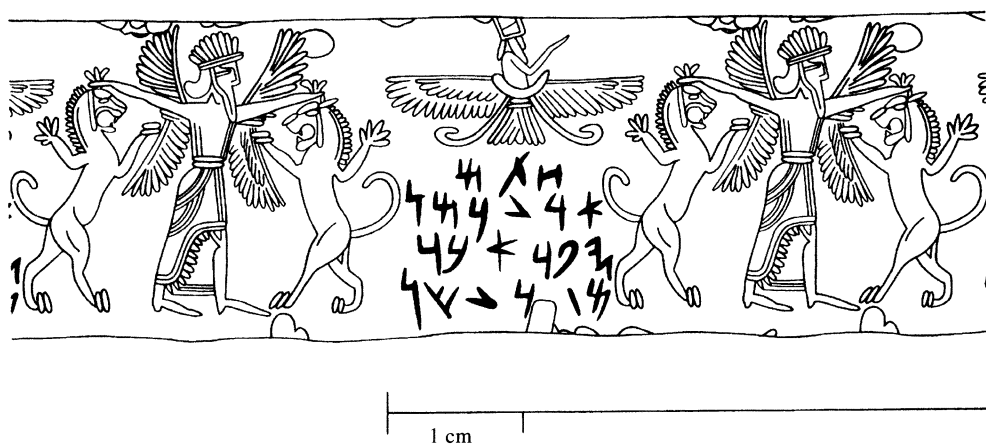


FIG. 2.—Line drawing of the seal of Ariyāramna

exactly in all details no one seal from the Persepolis archive, individual elements of its composition, iconography, and style find many parallels in the sealings from Persepolis.<sup>5</sup>

## II. DESCRIPTION

The seal of Ariyāramna (figs. 1–2) is a cylinder made of chalcedony, pale yellow in color. It measures 2.30 cm in height and 1.20 cm in diameter. The seal is in good condition, although small chips occur along both the top and bottom edges. These are most visible in impression above the head of the hero, near the head of the figure in the winged crescent, under the lion to the right of the hero (one large chip), and under the last line of the inscription (one large chip between the Aramaic letters Z and D).

The main figural design shows a heroic encounter. A four-winged hero faces right, extending his straight arms upward at shoulder level to grasp two rampant lions by their forelocks. The hero is depicted with his head and lower body in profile, his chest frontal. The ribs of the upper wings curl inward slightly at their tips; the feathers are long, most of them curling upward. The lower wings are longer than the upper ones; the ribs of the lower wings are also straighter. The lower right wing has two rows of feathers indicated. The hero wears a fringed robe which leaves the forward leg exposed below his knee. The robe is ankle-length and double-belted. Two parallel lines (a decorative border) run the length of the garment along its front and bottom edges. The bottom edge of the inner part of the robe is indicated between the hero's legs; along this edge there also run two parallel lines. Fringe is indicated along the front edge of the robe between the hero's legs. Two swags of folds or fringe decorate the garment over his back hip; two other swags of folds or fringe hang down from the lower of the first set and then run down to the back edge of the garment. On the part of the garment over his chest two parallel lines (decorative borders) run along each side of the torso. A long beard with a vertical striation terminates in a blunt point over the hero's left shoulder; his coiffure bunches and curls upward at the back of his neck. Two horizontal lines on the hero's forehead may indicate a headband, or they may simply be aspects of the carving style. Nine diagonal striations on his head probably indicate rows of curls rather than a headdress.

Each lion moves toward and faces the hero. Each holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward to place its paw on the hero's lower wing. Each holds the other foreleg straight, claws protracted, and extends it upward away from its body. The tail of each lion curls upward. The mane is indicated by a serrated edge along the contour of its neck. At the top of its head are three long forelocks which the hero holds. Each lion has its mouth open in a roar; a single tooth is indicated in both the upper and lower jaw.

The four-line Aramaic inscription occurs in the terminal field. It reads:<sup>6</sup>

HTM	The Seal
𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤓𐤎	of Ariyāramna

<sup>5</sup> For the most part, I confine my remarks, especially stylistic, to those seals which will appear in vol. 1 of the publication of the sealings from the Persepolis Fortification archive (see n. 3 above); at the time of the writing of this article, only the sealings in vol. 1 were comprehensively documented through drawing, photograph, catalogue entry, and extensive study of the impressions themselves. Fortunately, the seal of

Ariyāramna belongs to the same iconographic type (the heroic encounter) as those sealings that appear in vol. 1. I refer to many Persepolitan seals that are not illustrated in this article in anticipation that the reader may in the future have access to their images from our forthcoming catalogues.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed commentary of the inscription, see pp. 16–17 below.

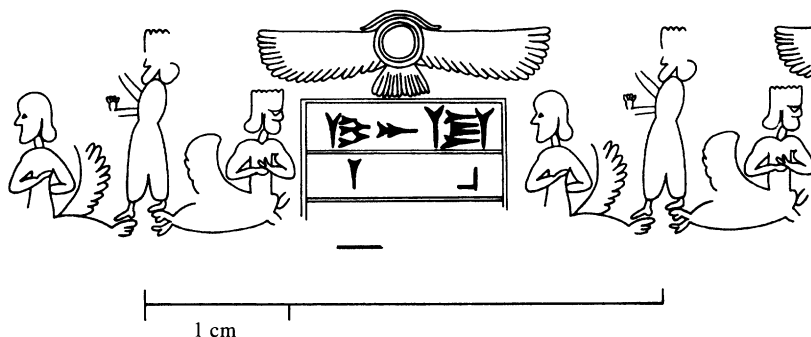


FIG. 3.—Collated line drawing of PFS 389\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Court Style). The fragmentary inscription reads: <sup>SAL(?)</sup>hal-ma / 'x' [x] 'x' / . . . , "Seal of . . ."

SPR <sup>2</sup> BR	the Scribe, the Son
MZDYŠN	of Mazdayašna

Above the inscription floats a human figure in a winged crescent. A bird's tail hangs down vertically from the crescent; a long tendril curves downward diagonally from either side of the tail, curling upward at its end. Only the head and upper torso of the figure in the winged crescent are depicted (in profile). He faces right and raises one arm bent in front of his body; evidently, the long fingers are cupped upward. He has a long beard which terminates in a blunt point over his chest. A thin, elongated, teardrop-shaped coiffure rests at the back of his neck. The figure appears to wear a polos headdress, although chips in the stone in this area have damaged the upper part of the headdress.

### III. COMPOSITION AND ICONOGRAPHY<sup>7</sup>

The full composition of the seal of Ariyāramna is quite striking, owing to the combination of a scene of heroic encounter with a large Aramaic inscription over which a winged figure hovers.<sup>8</sup> The inscription is relatively long and is disposed horizontally in the field without case lines or a panel. The natural tendency, in fact, is to roll the seal with the inscription as the central element and the figural design framing it.<sup>9</sup> I know of no seal from Persepolis which combines a long Aramaic inscription without case lines or a panel with a winged disk above it. Nevertheless, there are several seals from the Fortification archive which have much the same visual dynamic as the seal of Ariyāramna. One of the closest is PFS 389\* (fig. 3), where the figural design is carefully arranged in order to frame the

<sup>7</sup> When I speak in general terms of the Persepolis sealings in this section and in the discussion of style, it is based on detailed study of the sealings preserving the theme of the heroic encounter published in our vol. 1. From preliminary study of the other sealings preserved on the PF tablets, I am confident that these remarks hold true for the most part for them as well, but future study will undoubtedly sharpen our understanding of these remarkable sealings.

<sup>8</sup> It is not uncommon to have an inscription, a

winged disk/crescent, or some other element in the terminal field in the Persepolis sealings (for example, PFS 774 and PFS 196 [both vol. 1], for a winged disk in the terminal field). As noted, it is the combination of the heroic encounter theme with the inscription and winged figure in the terminal field that is notable in the seal of Ariyāramna.

<sup>9</sup> With smaller inscriptions, the reverse seems preferable, i.e., to roll the seal so that the inscription frames the larger figural scene. It may be useful here

inscription, and a winged disk is placed over it.<sup>10</sup> The figural imagery on PFS 389\* is, of course, different from the seal of Ariyāramna, and it is more artfully construed to highlight the inscription. In addition, the inscription is in Elamite and has case lines and a panel. Nevertheless, the overall sense of the composition of PFS 389\* I find quite similar to the seal of Ariyāramna.<sup>11</sup> This compositional schema, which gives priority to the inscription by placing a figural design either above or below it, calls to mind some inscriptions on Akkadian and Early Dynastic III seals.<sup>12</sup> One of the interesting things to emerge from study of the Persepolis sealings is the sophisticated referencing of ancient styles, iconography, and compositional formulas.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps this compositional schema is another example of this phenomenon.

The theme of the heroic encounter is a popular image with a long pedigree in the glyptic art of ancient Western Asia.<sup>14</sup> It is especially common in the two-hundred-year history of Achaemenid glyptic. It appears in two major forms, the control encounter, which we see on the seal of Ariyāramna, and the combat encounter where the hero wrestles, or stabs with a weapon, an animal or monstrous creature. In the Fortification archive, almost one-third of the legible designs preserve the theme of the heroic encounter, and by far the more common of the two types is the control encounter. In the sealings found on the Treasury tablets, all the royal name seals show the heroic encounter. The theme is the single most popular one in early Achaemenid glyptic of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.

In the seal of Ariyāramna, the hero holds two rampant lions by their forelocks. PFS 16\* (fig. 4) is a close parallel to the composition of the heroic encounter itself, although there the hero holds the lions by their throats. The more common formulas in the Persepolis sealings are the hero holding two rampant lions by their upper forelegs and the hero holding two rampant lions by their throats (as seen in PFS 16\*). The same general compositional patterns are seen in the sealings on the Treasury tablets.<sup>15</sup> In the seals from the Fortification archive, lions are by far the most popular animal which the hero holds in the control encounter.

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to compare the now well-known PFS 16\* (fig. 4), the second seal of Parnaka, the chief administrator of the Fortification archive. The design shows the same theme as the seal of Ariyāramna, and it also has an Aramaic inscription (with case lines and a panel). The smaller size of the inscription of PFS 16\* (in relation to the figural design) combined with the dramatic quality of the figural carving gives visual priority to the figural imagery (for fuller discussion of PFS 16\*, see my "Seals and the Elite," pp. 9–10; textual evidence indicates a secure *terminus ante quem* of June 500 B.C. for its execution). There are no actual published data of the archival use of seals to confirm these observations, and my comments are based purely on the visual dynamics of the designs and patterns that have emerged from a study of Fortification archive sealing praxis. As part of the documentation for the seal impressions on the Fortification tablets, we are quantifying seal rolling patterns. From that data, we are seeing that seal application varied considerably from user to user; nevertheless, on seals with both figural image and inscription, the overall tendency is to give priority

to the figural design. This is especially true when the tablet surface is small and cannot accommodate a full application of the seal.

<sup>10</sup> The seal will appear in vol. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also PFS 1601\* (vol. 2), a banquet scene with an Elamite inscription in a panel over which a winged figure hovers.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Collon, *First Impressions*, figs. 81, 83–85, 522, 523, 526, 952 (all Early Dynastic III) and figs. 100, 527, 529, 566, 641, 717, 761 (all Akkadian). Note also the famous seal impression preserving the name of Gudea of Lagash (Collon, *First Impressions*, fig. 531).

<sup>13</sup> See my comments in "Seals and the Elite," pp. 7–10.

<sup>14</sup> For an overview of the history of the image of the heroic encounter, see my "Seal Workshops and Artists," pp. 24–160.

<sup>15</sup> PTS 12 preserves the same compositional details in the heroic encounter as the seal of Ariyāramna. On PTS 10 the hero also holds the lions by the tops of their heads. Both seals are probably to be dated to the time

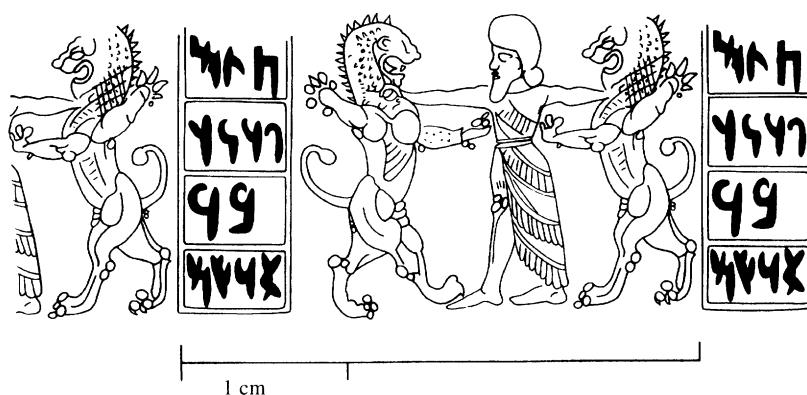


FIG. 4.—Collated line drawing of PFS 16\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Modeled Style). The Aramaic inscription reads: *ḥtm / prnk / br / ʾršm*, “Seal of Par-naka son of Aršam.”

The hero on the seal of Ariyāramna wears a double-belted robe. This garment would normally be taken as an Assyrian fashion, in which case the seal might mistakenly be dated in the Assyrian period or interpreted as an archaizing piece. Again, the sealings from the Persepolis Fortification archive offer a corrective. This “Assyrian” fashion is the most common garment type which heroes, and human figures in other designs for that matter, wear on the seal designs from the Fortification archive. It is ubiquitous in the Persepolis material and occurs in a wide variety of forms. At times, a kilt is present under the long robe. When the kilt is shown it varies in length from mid-thigh to below the knee. The garment is not always decorated with fringe or folds on the Persepolis sealings, but this may be due to the poor state of preservation of many of the seal designs.<sup>16</sup> PFS 16\* (fig. 4) preserves one of the more elaborate renderings of the garment from the hero corpus at Persepolis. It is similar to the hero’s garment on the seal of Ariyāramna in the swags of fringe on the robe over the back leg and the fringe along the forward edge of the robe. I illustrate only one from many other examples in the Persepolis sealings, PFS 1072 (fig. 5), which shows a nice parallel to the rendering of fringe along the forward edge of the robe. It also is a good example of the plain surface treatment of garments more commonly seen in the seals from the Fortification archive. We cannot see the garment between the legs of the heroes on PFS 16\* and PFS 1072, but there are several examples of this on other Persepolis sealings; I illustrate only one example, PFS 1582 (fig. 6), which also shows the diagonal swags of fringe (more linear in execution than what we see on the seal of Ariyāramna) on

of Xerxes. As regards the sealings from the Fortification archive, note that PFS 63 and PFS 95 (see my “Seals and the Elite,” pp. 16–17, fig. 29) show the animals holding their forelegs out to either side of their body (like the lions on the seal of Ariyāramna), but the heroes again hold the animals by their throats. On PFS 225 the hero holds the lions by the tops of their heads, but the animals are moving away from him. PFS 1598 shows a hero holding winged, horned leonine creatures

by their snouts. On PFS 326 and probably PFS 1613 (the image is only partially preserved), the hero holds rampant winged, human-headed leonine creatures by the tops of their heads.

<sup>16</sup> There are several series of seals from one workshop that show elaborate renderings of this garment; see my “Seal Workshops and Artists,” pp. 227–43, with further references.



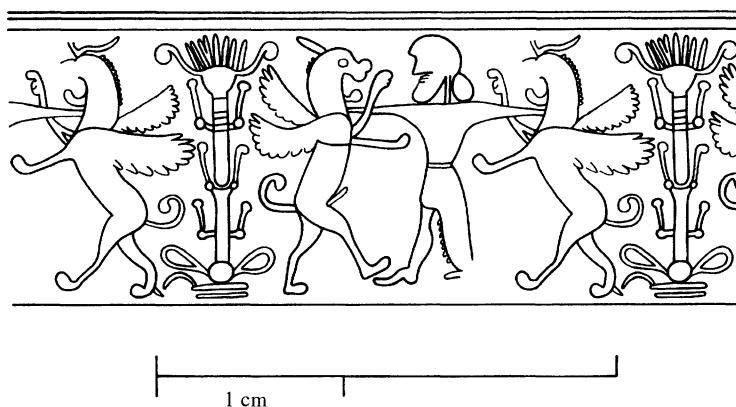


FIG. 5.—Collated line drawing of PFS 1072 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Mixed Styles II).

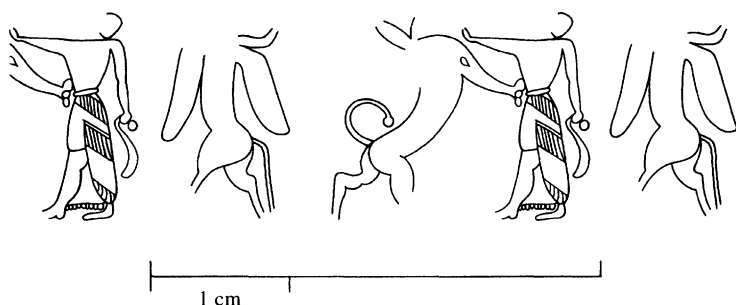


FIG. 6.—Collated line drawing of PFS 1582 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Mixed Styles I).

the robe over the back leg.<sup>17</sup> Note the fringe indicated along the bottom edge of the robe on PFS 1582 (unlike the linear horizontal borders on the seal of Ariyāramna).

The hero on the seal of Ariyāramna has four wings, the lower pair slightly longer than the upper. Again, without the sealings from the Fortification archive, we would be hard-pressed to explain the appearance of a winged hero on a seal of early Achaemenid date, and the natural tendency would be to look to Assyro-Babylonian glyptic of the first millennium B.C., where winged heroes are quite common.<sup>18</sup> The winged hero is, however, well

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also for renderings of the garment that are particularly close to that seen on the hero's garment on the seal of Ariyāramna: PFS 64\*, PFS 86, PFS 981\* (an especially decorative version), and PFS 1227\* (all vol. 1).

<sup>18</sup> The sealings from the Treasury archive do not preserve any winged heroes. For winged heroes in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic, see, for example, Collon, *First Impressions*, figs. 348, 350, 371–72, 374, 405, 964. In 1947 E. Porada wrote an important article in which she

tried to isolate characteristics of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian glyptic (E. Porada, "Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seal," *Orientalia*, n.s., 16 [1947]: 145–65). One of her characteristics of Babylonian glyptic was wings of equal length on four-winged figures (versus wings of unequal length [upper wings shorter] on Assyrian glyptic). This criterion is restated in more recent publications as well (see, for example, B. Wittmann, "Babylonische Rollsiegel des 11.–7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Baghdader Mitteilun-*

represented in the seals used on the Fortification archive, both the two-winged and four-winged variants. PFS 36\* (fig. 9) is a nice example of the four-winged type from Persepolis. Here, as in the seal of Ariyāramna, the lower wings are slightly longer than the upper ones; the stylistic qualities of the hero's wings on PFS 36\* also accord well with those seen on the seal of Ariyāramna.<sup>19</sup>

The pose of the lions has already been touched upon briefly. The dynamic placement of the forelegs to either side of the body with claws protracted is a common pose in the seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive (see figs. 4 and 6).<sup>20</sup> We may be meant to understand this view as the back of the lion; at least in the extensively modeled PFS 16\* it appears that way.<sup>21</sup>

The figure in the winged crescent is a common iconographic element in Achaemenid glyptic of the Court Style. Its origins and interpretation have been repeatedly discussed. Most authorities identify the figure as Ahuramazda.<sup>22</sup> Two features are noteworthy with regard to its appearance on the seal of Ariyāramna. First, the wings are curved, not box-like. Curved wings on these winged elements have often been taken as indicative of a later iconographic type, occurring only irregularly in the time of Darius.<sup>23</sup> Many sealings from the Fortification archive preserve, however, the curved-winged type (for example, fig. 3), showing that its appearance in the time of Darius is not unusual.<sup>24</sup> Second, the figure in a winged disk (or crescent) is normally seen in seals rendered in the Court Style. Styles other than the Court Style (as preserved on the Fortification tablets) tend to have few, if any, ancillary figures outside of the main figural composition. The Court Style is, however, exceptional in this regard, often having inscriptions, figures in winged disks/crescents, palm trees, etc.<sup>25</sup> The seal of Ariyāramna is not cut in the Court Style (below I suggest that it has many parallels with three local carving styles at Persepolis: the Fortification Style,

gen 23 [1992]: 169–289). See my “Seal Workshops and Artists,” pp. 91–105, for a critique.

<sup>19</sup> Other winged heroes that appear in vol. 1: two-winged heroes: PFS 1\*, PFS 65, PFS 98\*, PFS 931\*, PFS 1276, PFS 1566\*, PFS 1632\*; four-winged heroes: PFS 58, PFS 72, PFS 103\*, PFS 297, PFS 513 (probably a Neo-Assyrian heirloom), PFS 594, PFS 782, PFS 1026, PFS 1202, PFS 1387, PFS 1586, PFS 1658. Interestingly, there are no winged heroes in the Court Style (see the stylistic discussion pp. 10–14 below).

<sup>20</sup> See also n. 15 above. Other seals in vol. 1 showing this particular placement of the lions' forelegs include: PFS 39s, PFS 43\*, PFS 52, PFS 63, PFS 95, PFS 152, PFS 272\* and PFS 827. Some of these seals are combat encounters.

<sup>21</sup> See my “Seals and the Elite,” pp. 9–10, where the Assyrian origins of this pose are discussed.

<sup>22</sup> For surveys of the evidence, see Root, *The King and Kingship in Archaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*, Acta Iranica 19 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 64–65; 122; 148, n. 57; 166, n. 17; 169–71; 182, n. 2; 214–15; 246; M. Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis*, Iran 21 (London, 1983), pp. 133–38. Some scholars have suggested that the image is the spirit of the dead king (*fravahr*) or the god-given future (*farnah*) (*khvarnah*) of the living king

(see, for example, A. Sh. Shahbazi, “An Achaemenid Symbol I. A Farewell to ‘Fravahr’ and ‘Ahuramazda,’” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (AMI)* 7 [1974]: 135–44, and “An Achaemenid Symbol II. Farnah ‘(God Given) Fortune’ Symbolized,” *AMI* 13 [1980]: 119–47). It is important to note that the image occurs in a wide variety of forms: sometimes with a human figure, sometimes without; sometimes a disk as the central element, other times a crescent or nothing at all. The image is in need of comprehensive review. For a recent survey, see P. d'Amore “Glittica a cilindro achemenid: Linee di uno sviluppo tematico-cronologico,” *Contributi e materiali di archeologia orientale* 4 (1992): 187–267 (pp. 210–12, for the figure in the winged disk or crescent).

<sup>23</sup> For example, Roaf, *Sculptures and Sculptors*, pp. 133–38.

<sup>24</sup> Some other examples of the curved-wing type in the Fortification archive: PFS 196 (vol. 1), PFS 91 (vol. 2), and PFS 122 (vol. 2). Note that PTS 24, known since Schmidt's publication in 1957, clearly preserves the curved-wing type and occurs on a tablet dated to year 32 of Darius.

<sup>25</sup> See my “Seal Workshops and Artists,” pp. 394–419, 472–91, 528–30; “Seals and the Elite,” pp. 13–20. The style of the seal of Ariyāramna is discussed in more detail on pp. 10–14 below.

Mixed Styles I, and Mixed Styles II), and thus the inclusion of the figure in the winged crescent is noteworthy.<sup>26</sup>

The role of the Aramaic inscription in the overall composition has already been discussed (above, pp. 5–6). The unusual features of the inscription are its length and its horizontal orientation without the use of case lines or a panel. This combination of features cannot be paralleled by any of the known heroic encounter seals from the Fortification archive. Seal inscriptions from the Fortification archive tend to be short, the most common formula being PN1 son of PN2. Inscriptions that include an occupational designation (OD) are extremely rare in the Fortification archive. Of the inscribed seals in volume 1, only the trilingual royal name seals (PFS 7\* and PFS 113\*) can be so classified without doubt (OD = king).<sup>27</sup> Aramaic inscriptions are quite common in the sealings from the Fortification archive. Those which will appear in volume 1 include: PFS 9\*, PFS 16\* (fig. 4), PFS 54\*, PFS 123\*, PFS 164\*, PFS 266\* (fig. 12), PFS 815\*, and PFS 981\*.<sup>28</sup> They are, however, oriented horizontally with case lines and a panel (PFS 16\* and PFS 981\*), horizontally with a panel (PFS 54\*), longitudinally with a panel (PFS 266\*), or longitudinally without case lines or a panel (PFS 9\*, PFS 164\* and PFS 815\*).<sup>29</sup> Thus at Persepolis there is no strict canon for the arrangement of Aramaic inscriptions, and the arrangement of the inscription of the seal of Ariyāramna certainly does not exhibit any individual feature which would be at variance with what we see in sealings from the Fortification archive.

Finally, it should be noted that the shape of the seal of Ariyāramna, a cylinder seal, is, by far, the preferred seal shape at Persepolis.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the dimensions of the seal of Ariyāramna are comfortably within the range of seal dimensions that can be reconstructed for those seals preserving the theme of the heroic encounter from the Fortification archive.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Carving styles other than the Court Style do sometimes include ancillary figures and objects, but not commonly. As we shall see below, the seal of Ariyāramna does share a few stylistic affinities with the Court Style at Persepolis. Like so many other seals from the Fortification archive, it represents a blending of various seal carving traditions, reflecting a period of glyptic art where rigid iconographic and stylistic barriers did not exist and iconographic and stylistic canons were in flux.

<sup>27</sup> The third royal name seal in the Fortification archive, PFS 11\* (vol. 2), follows the pattern of PFS 7\* and PFS 113\*. The fourth royal name seal in the archive, PFS 93\* (vol. 2), the famous heirloom seal of Cyrus the son of Teispes, carries no OD (see my “Seals and the Elite,” pp. 3–7, figs. 1–2). PFS 1\* carries a difficult Elamite inscription that cannot at present be understood, although the signs are all clear. The second line may be an OD: *unsak*, reading DIŠ.un-sa-AK(?)·TE(?); see, however, the comments of F. Vallat, “Les prétendus fonctionnaires *unsak* des textes néo-élamites et achéménides,” *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter* 1 (1992): 5, for *unsak* as a personal name (my thanks to M. W. Stolper for this reference).

<sup>28</sup> There are a total of thirty-six inscribed seals in vol. 1. They include, in addition to the eight Aramaic seals listed in the text: two trilingual inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian (PFS 7\* and PFS 113\*); sixteen Elamite (PFS 1\*, PFS 4\*, PFS 32\*,

PFS 36\*, PFS 43\*, PFS 57\*, PFS 98\*, PFS 103\*, PFS 199\* [perhaps], PFS 272\*, PFS 584\*, PFS 769\*, PFS 931\* [perhaps], PFS 1025\* [perhaps], PFS 1566\*, PFS 1637\*); two Babylonian (PFS 883\* and PFS 1632\*); one Greek (PFS 284\*); five language uncertain (PFS 64\*, PFS 523\*, PFS 526\*, PFS 859\*, PFS 1227\*); two language unknown (PFS 671\* and PFS 677\*).

<sup>29</sup> PFS 123\* is an oddity. There are a few letters at the very top of the preserved design, oriented horizontally without case lines or a panel. The characters seem to be Aramaic, but whether they were part of a legible inscription is unclear.

<sup>30</sup> Of the 313 seals in vol. 1, only eighteen are stamp seals.

<sup>31</sup> The height (2.30 cm) of the seal of Ariyāramna is greater than the majority of cylinder seals from the Fortification archive in vol. 1. Of the cylinder seals for which the height can be reconstructed in vol. 1, the majority clusters in the range 1.40–2.00 cm. Only two cylinder seals have a height of 2.30 cm, and only four cylinder seals have heights greater than 2.30 cm. As regards diameters, the seal of Ariyāramna (1.20 cm) is more comfortably placed with the Fortification sealings. Of the cylinder seals for which the diameter can be reconstructed in vol. 1, the majority clusters in the range of 0.70–1.10 cm. Six cylinder seals have a diameter of 1.20 cm, and nine cylinder seals have a diameter greater than 1.20. A complete analysis of the

## IV. STYLE

The seal of Ariyāramna exhibits a mixture of carving styles. The outline of animal and human form is sharp with a tendency toward angularity on human form (note especially the transition from chest to arms and the rendering of the feet). The hero's body assumes basically a rectangular shape (the waist is slightly pinched, creating the hint of an hour-glass outline). Outline of animal form tends to be more rounded (note especially the sinuous S-profile of the animal bodies), but it can turn angular (forelegs and paws). The rendering of human form is flat, with linear detail especially prevalent in the face, hair, wings, and on the knee of the forward leg. Animal form is compressed and more rounded than human. We see a slight swelling of the chests of the lions and quite nervous and somewhat bulging musculature on the hindquarters. This gives way to rather flat and linear rendering of form in the forelegs and paws. Overall, human and animal form is treated simply with select areas given more detailed attention (for example, hero's feathers and garment, lions' hindquarters and mouths).

The seal of Ariyāramna shares these carving characteristics with many seals from the Fortification archive. In particular, many of these features are to be found in three local carving styles, which I have called the Fortification Style, Mixed Styles I, and Mixed Styles II.<sup>32</sup> The Fortification Style rarely exhibits modeling in human form but can at times show restrained modeling in animal bodies, especially in the area of the hindquarters.<sup>33</sup> Both of these carving characteristics of the Fortification Style are seen also in the seal of Ariyāramna. The modeling in the animal bodies of the seal of Ariyāramna is, however, more active than normally encountered in the Fortification Style. This feature draws the seal toward the Persepolitan carving style that I have called Mixed Styles I.<sup>34</sup> This style combines features of the Fortification Style with the Modeled Style. Certain features in the rendering of the hero's garment and the rendering of animal form in the seal of Ariyāramna also accord well with another Persepolitan carving style that I have characterized as Mixed Styles II.<sup>35</sup> This style combines features of the local Fortification Style with the Court Style.

PFS 959s (fig. 7) is a nice example of the plain carving style so typical of the Fortification Style. The outline of the hero's body is a little more active than that seen on the seal of Ariyāramna, but they share the same low forehead on the hero. PFS 1155 (fig. 8) from the Fortification Style at Persepolis provides a nice comparison to the rendering of the hero's head in the seal of Ariyāramna. Note the low foreheads on all three human heads on PFS 1155, the strong sense of linearity, and the diagonal detailing lines in the hair of the creature to the left of the hero.<sup>36</sup> The rhythm of the rendering of the beard and nose of

dimensions of cylinder and stamp seals preserving the theme of the heroic encounter in the Fortification archive appears in an appendix of vol. 1.

<sup>32</sup> A complete description of the carving styles which I have isolated in the seals used on the Fortification archive is found in my "Seal Workshops and Artists."

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 258–368, 471–75, 481–95, 525–28; idem, "Seals and the Elite," pp. 10–12, 15–17.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., "Seal Workshops and Artists," pp. 244–58.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 369–83.

<sup>36</sup> In vol. 1, PFS 1023 and PFS 1613 in the Fortification Style show similar formal approaches in the rendering of facial details; cf. also PFS 774 (Court

Style; see n. 41 below) and PFS 196 (Broad and Flat Styles). The human head in the cylinder seal PT5 413 (found in Hall 38 of the Treasury at Persepolis) exhibits the same low forehead and diagonal striations in the hair (Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pp. 42–44, pl. 15 [PT5 413]). Porada's comment (Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, p. 42, n. 134) that the seal is late peripheral Assyrian is understandable, since she was unaware of the stylistic range of the sealings from the Fortification archive. The prominent diagonal striations on the head of the hero in the seal of Ariyāramna also find striking parallels on the heads of the defeated enemies on the famous heirloom seal of Cyrus the son of Teispes (PFS 93\* [vol. 2]; see my "Seals and the Elite," pp. 3–7, figs. 1–2).



FIG. 7.—Photograph of PFS 959s on the reverse of PF 834 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Fortification Style) (scale ca. 2:1).

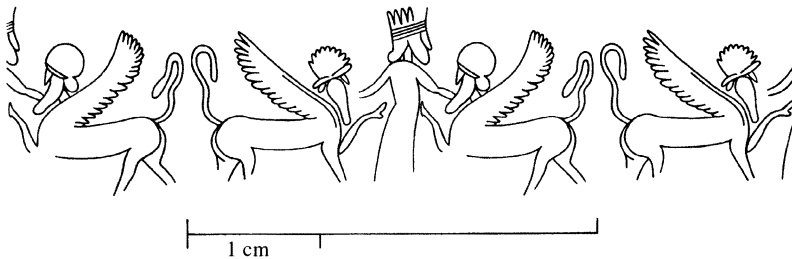


FIG. 8.—Collated line drawing of PFS 1155 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Fortification Style).

the figure in the winged disk on the seal of Ariyāramna is also nicely paralleled in the rendering of the beard and the nose on the hero of PFS 1155.<sup>37</sup> The hero's body on PFS 36\* (fig. 9), one of the more monumental Fortification Style engravings, is more slim and compact than that seen on the seal of Ariyāramna, but the seal does provide a nice comparison to the rendering of the hero's wings with their slightly curving outlines and long thin feathers. PFS 1142 (fig. 10) comes from a different strain of the Fortification Style, but the rendering of the lions' heads, documented time and again in the Fortification Style, has much the same quality as that seen on the seal of Ariyāramna. There are also several

<sup>37</sup> See also PFS 67 (Fortification Style) and PFS 236 (Court Style), both in vol. 1.

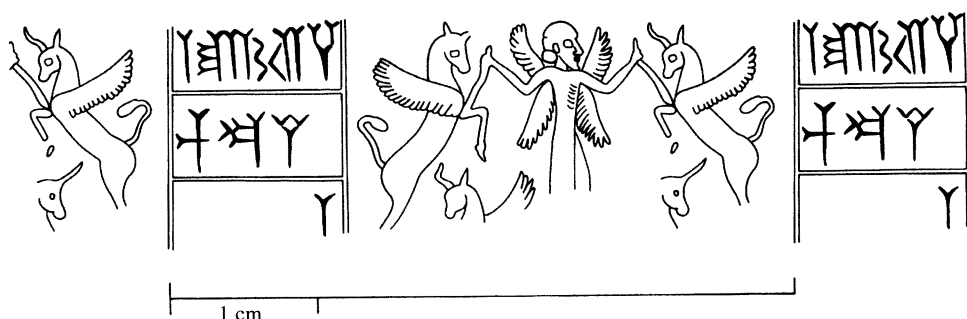


FIG. 9.—Collated line drawing of PFS 36\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Fortification Style). The Elamite inscription reads: DIŠ.ú-iš-šá- / bar-na(-)šá / 'xxxx', "Uššabarna(ša)? . . ."

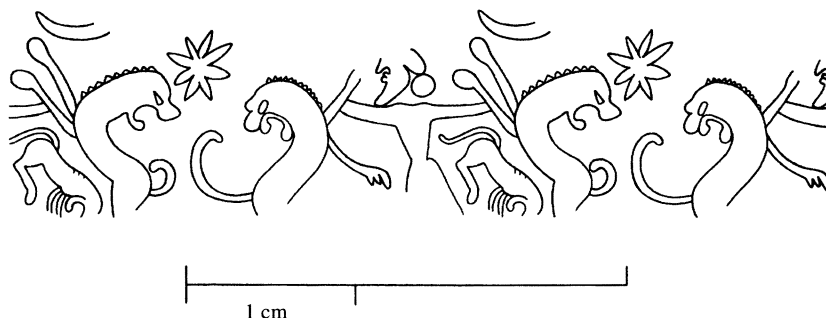


FIG. 10.—Collated line drawing of PFS 1142 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Fortification Style).

seals cut in the Fortification Style that show the same schematic rendering of the lions' paws by two short, parallel cut marks. I illustrate only one example, PFS 1030 (fig. 11).<sup>38</sup>

PFS 1582 (fig. 6) exhibits the typical mixing of Fortification Style and Modeled Style elements seen in Mixed Styles I. As regards the comparison with the seal of Ariyāramna, we should note here the more plastic treatment of the hindquarters of the lions on PFS 1582. While not the same type of modeling as that seen on the seal of Ariyāramna, it is the mixture of plastic and flat carving which the two seals share, where modeling is limited to select areas of animal anatomy.

As a point of contrast with the modeling in the seal of Ariyāramna, we should compare PFS 16\* (fig. 4). This seal, executed in the Persepolitan Modeled Style, exhibits large, bulky figures and a heavy, agitated modeling all through animal and human bodies. The two seals, as I have discussed above, do share, however, iconographic and compositional characteristics. The seals also share the same basic shape of the heroes' bodies and the rendering of the lions' manes by a crisp serrated edge along the contour of the neck. This

<sup>38</sup> Other clear examples of this convention for the depiction of paws from the Fortification Style in vol. 1: PFS 39s, PFS 671 and PFS 1030. The convention is also documented in the Modeled Style (PFS 673),

Mixed Styles I (for example, PFS 123\* and PFS 677), Mixed Styles II (for example, PFS 266\*, fig. 12), and the Broad and Flat Styles (PFS 196).

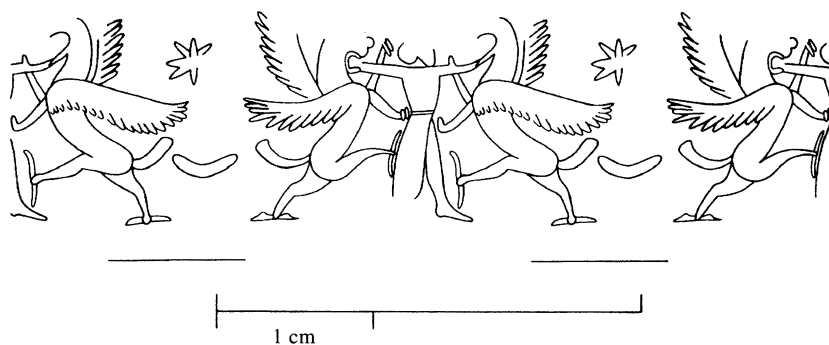


FIG. 11.—Collated line drawing of PFS 1030 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Fortification Style).

rendering of the mane is not limited, however, to the Modeled Style, as can be seen in PFS 1072 (fig. 5, Mixed Styles II) and PFS 1142 (fig. 10, Fortification Style).

PFS 1072 (fig. 5, Mixed Styles II) shows the same rectangular outline (with slightly pinched waist) of the hero's body, the plain treatment of human and animal form, and the tendency toward linear detail (seen especially in the rendering of the hero's neck) as the seal of Ariyāramna. Like the seal of Ariyāramna, it also has a rather elaborate addition to the basic figural scheme, in this case a wonderfully intricate plant device. The addition of the carefully rendered figure in the winged crescent in the seal of Ariyāramna corresponds formally to the elaborate terminal device in PFS 1072, and both examples show how Court Style detailing is integrated with basic Fortification Style carving in the Mixed Styles II. In this respect, note also how both PFS 1072 and the seal of Ariyāramna show a strong sense of verticality. This is a design feature which is related most strongly with the Court Style.<sup>39</sup> PFS 1072 also shares with the seal of Ariyāramna the distinctive C-shaped profile of the lions' mouths.

Finally, the rendering of the musculature on the hindquarters of PFS 266\* and PFS 1057 (figs. 12–13), both from Mixed Styles II, compares favorably with that seen on the hindquarters of the lions on the seal of Ariyāramna. PFS 266\* also exhibits the C-shaped profile of the leonine creatures' mouth.<sup>40</sup>

All of these seals in Mixed Styles II from Persepolis and the seal of Ariyāramna lack the sense of monumentality that so characterizes the best Court Style engraving. Court Style animal and human form tends to be broad with slight modeling throughout the anatomy, yielding, essentially, a clearer sense of volume. Excessive attention to intricate, anatomically correct detail, especially in wings and human faces, is another characteristic of the Court Style; these qualities are not present in the seal of Ariyāramna.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Best seen, for example, on PFS 7\* and the famous London Darius cylinder (see my, "Seals and the Elite," pp. 13–21, figs. 21–22 [PFS 7\*] and 32 [London Darius cylinder]). Note also PFS 389\* (fig. 3), probably an early Court Style carving, which shows a very static dynamic and strong vertical and horizontal axes. All the Court Style sealings from the Persepolis Treasury exhibit similar characteristics; cf. PTS 1\*–PTS 19, PTS 21–PTS 26, and PTS 33\* (Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 1–10).

<sup>40</sup> An emphasis on the profile of the mouths of lions is a common characteristic on seal designs from the Fortification archive. This feature carries over into later Achaemenid glyptic as well.

<sup>41</sup> Although compare PFS 774 (vol. 1), a seal that exhibits many characteristics of the Court Style, but with a strong emphasis on abstract, linear detail in the rendering of feathers on wings and human heads (very close to that seen on the seal of Ariyāramna).



FIG. 12.—Photograph of PFS 266\* on the left edge of PF 1112 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Mixed Styles II; PFS 266\* is the impression on the right half of the surface; PFS 1181 is the seal applied on the left half of the surface). The Aramaic inscription on PFS 266\* cannot be read with any certainty: h(?) / g(?) m s y(?) X / n(?) a (scale ca. 2.5:1).

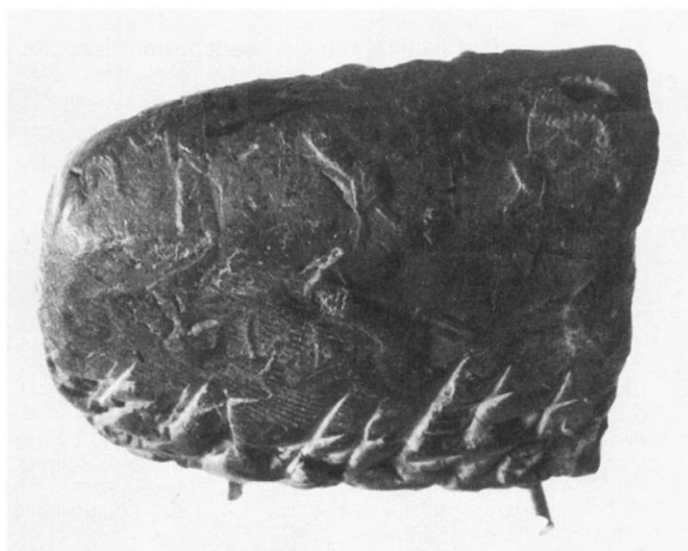


FIG. 13.—Photograph of PFS 1057 on the reverse of PF 1101 from the Persepolis Fortification archive (Mixed Styles II) (scale ca. 2:1).

## V. CONCLUSIONS

Many features of composition, iconography, and style of the seal of Ariyāramna point to its origin in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. in southwestern Iran. It seems best to fit with Persepolitan stylistic groups that I have labeled Mixed Styles I and Mixed Styles II. In the former case, it is the combination of simple flat human form of the Fortification Style with a more nervous three dimensional modeling of animal form, especially in the lower bodies of animals. In the latter case, it is the combination of the



simple carving style of the Fortification Style with the more detailed iconography and strong sense of verticality of the Court Style. This sharing of features of composition, iconography, and style across stylistic boundaries is seen time and again in the sealings from the Persepolis Fortification archive. The seal of Ariyāramna, like the Persepolis sealings, documents, as already noted, what appears to have been an especially creative and experimental period of glyptic art in southwestern Iran in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.

## VI. EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTS

PAUL DION

### *Paleographical Notes*

The seal of Ariyāramna is inscribed in an elegant hand of the late sixth–early fifth centuries B.C. The shape of the *shin* is especially well documented in the fifth century, but first steps in this direction are already found in the seventh and sixth centuries.<sup>42</sup> The *beth*, *pe*, and *taw*, best documented in the fifth century, are also conformable to late sixth-century models. Most other letters, and especially the *samek*, are best matched by late sixth-century examples. The *zain* is a plain, full-size, straight line slanting from upper left to lower right, at home in Aramaic documents but unusual on seals.<sup>43</sup>

### *Form and Content*

The formulation of the epigraph—ḤTM of PN, title, son of PN—is that of the so-called Aramaeo-Persian seals.<sup>44</sup> It is elaborate but regular; the owner's name is followed by his title as on the seal of Aršāma,<sup>45</sup> and then comes his patronym, as on the seals of Parnaka (PFS 16\* [fig. 4]) and Paršandāta.<sup>46</sup>

The owner of the ROM seal bore the Old Persian name of Ariyāramna.<sup>47</sup> The first element in this name is the word for "Aryan," but the traditional understanding of the second element as "giving rest/joy" is very doubtful.

Ariyāramna is documented in Old Persian, Elamite (the name of a mountain),<sup>48</sup> and Greek (Ariaramnēs) from the second half of the seventh century (great-grandfather of Da-

<sup>42</sup> B. L. Haines, "A Paleographical Survey of Aramaic Inscriptions Antedating 500 B.C." (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 2, 291, and 471; L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, Harvard Semitic Monograph Series 18 (Missoula, Montana, 1978), fig. 33.

<sup>43</sup> This form first emerged in the cursive script. It appeared ca. 650 B.C. (KAI 233, the Assur Ostrakon) and survived a long time, often as a much shorter stroke than that found on the seal of Ariyāramna (see F. Rosenthal, *Die Aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* [Leiden, 1939], Schrifttafeln 2 and 3).

<sup>44</sup> See P. Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 12.1 (Paris, 1992), col. 152.

<sup>45</sup> See G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1954), p. 2, n. 4.

<sup>46</sup> See Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits," p. 102, fig. 5a.

<sup>47</sup> Most of the information on this name and the historical characters who bore it was excellently put together and discussed by A. Sh. Shahbazi, s.v. Ariyāramna, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 2/4 (London, 1986), pp. 410–11, and many references to earlier specialized literature can be dispensed with.

<sup>48</sup> Names preserved in Elamite as Hariya and Ramnakka, however, could be hypocoristica of Ariyāramna; see M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Vienna, 1973), no. 8.458, p. 155 and no. 8.1404, p. 223.

rius I) to the first century A.D., but the ROM seal contains its first clear occurrence in Aramaic.<sup>49</sup> All the unquestionable examples are royalty or high-ranking officials; interestingly, most are from Asia Minor or Crimea.<sup>50</sup>

The title SPR<sup>3</sup> (scribe) does not appear on any other seal of this type; the only example on Aramaic seals is the eighth century CIS II 84 (LHWDW SPR<sup>3</sup>). In documents of the Persian era, the only Persian so far to be described as SPR<sup>3</sup> was Rāšta, a secretary of Aršāma;<sup>51</sup> but the Persepolis tablets mention many Iranians with chancery responsibilities.<sup>52</sup> In view of the outstanding quality of his seal and the high status of all his namesakes, the scribe Ariyāramna must have held an advantageous position in Achaemenid society.

Ariyāramna's father was Mazdayašna.<sup>53</sup> This Old Persian name meaning "Worshiper of Mazda" is abundantly documented ca. 500 B.C. by Elamite tablets from Persepolis;<sup>54</sup> it usually appears there as Mas-da-ya-aš-na. In the Avesta, Mazdayasna [*sic*] appears as a proper name in *Yašt* 13:121; otherwise, in Middle Persian, it is used as a title.<sup>55</sup>

In Aramaic, MZDYZN is documented at Elephantine in Egypt in the late fifth century B.C.;<sup>56</sup> note also the remarkable name DYNMZDYSNŠ, that appears on lines 1 and 4 of a late inscription from Arebsun in Cappadocia (KAI 264).

<sup>49</sup> Lidzbarski read 𐤐𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 twice in the bilingual inscription of Aḡaçakale in Cappadocia (*Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3 [1915]: 65–66, in disagreement with the Greek text. For other reading options and recent literature, see J. A. Fitzmyer and S. A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography*, pt. 1, *Old, Official, and Biblical Aramaic* [Baltimore, 1992], p. 164).

<sup>50</sup> To the exalted personages reviewed by Shahbazi, "Ariyāramna," add the following: (1) Ariaramnēs, son of Bagadatēs, neocoros of Artemis ca. 320 B.C.; see P. Briant, "Les Iraniens d'Asie Mineure après la chute de l'empire achéménide," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 11 (1985): 167–95 (p. 169); (2) a royal architect in Commagene ca. 36–20 B.C.; see S. Şahin, "Forschungen in Kommagene I: Epigraphik," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18 (1991): 99–113 (pp. 101–5).

<sup>51</sup> See Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, letters 6:5; 7:10; 8:6; 10:5; fragment VII, 5:1.

<sup>52</sup> See W. Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," *ZA* 61 (1971): 260–311 (pp. 308–11).

<sup>53</sup> Onomastics only, not paleography, decide for MZDYŠN against MZRYŠN. On this name, see Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, no. 8.1004, p. 193; cf. p. 315.

<sup>54</sup> See Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 207; Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, p. 727. Ma-az-

da-is/z-na-<sup>3</sup> appears in Neo-Babylonian; see W. Eilers, "Eine mittelpersische Wortform aus frühachämenidischer Zeit?," *ZDMG* 90 (1936): 160–200 (p. 170, n. 1). Eilers refers to VAT 15610 rev. 4. This Babylonian tablet, which Eilers believed to be from the time of Artaxerxes I, should be assigned to the reign of Artaxerxes II; see M. W. Stolper, "Iranians in Babylonia," *JAOs* 114 (1994): 617–24 (p. 620).

<sup>55</sup> In his great trilingual inscription, for instance, Shapur I describes himself as *masdaasnēs* in Greek, [MZDY]SN in Middle Persian, and MZDYZN in Parthian; see A. Maricq, "Classica et Orientalia 5, Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Syria* 35 (1958): 295–360 (p. 305).

<sup>56</sup> A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), no. 37, line 6. MZDYZN is recognized as a personal name, for example, by P. Grelot, in a review in *Revue biblique* 82 (1975): 291, and by W. Hinz et al., *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 164. In their authoritative new edition (*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, *Letters* [Jerusalem, 1986], p. 56), B. Porten and A. Yardeni still hesitate between adjectival phrase and proper name, but the seal of Ariyāramna should settle the matter.